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the tomb something impressed me even more than the words of Ingersoll; for, after looking over at that sarcophagus, my eyes rested upon a crucifix above and just beyond, where I saw one of the world's great warriors sleeping at the foot of the Prince of Peace, and it seemed to me that, whether justified or not, the bringing of these two into that position gave a lesson to the world that, after all, Love is greater than Force, and this raising of the crucified Christ above this past-master of slaughter typified the coming of the time when man will find his glory in doing good and his ideal in the service of mankind. [Applause.]

The Relation of Educated Women to the Peace Movement.

BY PRESIDENT MARY E. WOOLLEY OF HOLYOKE COLLEGE.
Address at the National Peace Congress, April 16.

The impressiveness of a gathering like this Peace Conference must be felt by all. It is an inspiration to have a part in a movement which is commanding the attention of the civilized world, to feel the impetus which comes from great assemblies, from wise words and eloquent appeals, from the sense of a common interest which knows no limitation of race or nation. Such occasions are significant in the progress, not only of the movement represented, but of civilization itself, for inspiration is the great motive power of achievement.

Yet it is equally true that such a gathering as New York has seen this week would fail of the highest results were it not followed by continued effort. It is with this thought in mind that I welcome the opportunity to speak to an audience of women, for upon you rests the real burden of this responsibility. The changes have been rung upon the "new woman." She has been extolled and ridiculed, explained and explained away, but the fact remains that she *does* exist, that the *type* of womanhood to-day is essentially different from that of any other age. The intellectual type is not new; the woman of force, the ruler, the politician, the warrior, the intriguer,—the Elizabeths, the Madames de Maintenons, the Boadiceas, the Catherine de Medicis,—have been known in other ages. Nor is the emotional type a novelty either in history or fiction. The achievement, the distinction of the representative womanhood of to-day, is that it unites the intellectual and the emotional for some larger social end than the world has ever before known. Her opportunity extends from neighborhood nursing to world organization in the cause of peace. The woman of force now is the woman of the multitude, the woman in industry, in the home, in society. Education has become so general that to be educated no longer places womanhood on a pedestal; it simply broadens horizons and opens eyes to the opportunities of life and the responsibilities which those opportunities bring. The union of the intellectual and the emotional gives to a woman peculiar fitness for work in uplifting humanity. Her response to need is quick, her sympathy keen and her interest personal, and when she adds to these qualities an intelligent understanding of conditions and the faculty of discrimination, she becomes a power in all efforts for the common welfare.

Why should the peace movement make a special appeal to women with their greater interest in matters

of common welfare, their new outlook beyond the walls of their own homes, and the enthusiasm which gives a vitality to all their work?

First, because of its practical character. We talk about the mingling of the races and of world unity, and we have only to step from our own doorway to see the possibility made a reality. Jew and Greek, Teuton and Slav, Hindu and Celt, mingle in the current of life on the streets of this city. No country is alien, no race unknown. Naturally, inevitably, there is developing a unity of interests, of customs, of ideas among the representatives of the most diverse races, and the way is open as never before for presenting the ideal of world unity.

The fundamental principles of the movement enter into the most common experience, for they govern all just and pure living. How can we preach justice to the nations when dealing unjustly with the representatives of those same nations in the tenement districts of our own city; or strive for world unity when busy in erecting barriers between classes? Oppression of a weaker nation, the crushing out of its individuality and the enslavement of its people, is not unlike the industrial oppression which, for the sake of gain, would force little children into the slavery of the cotton mills and men and women into labor which makes of life a mere warfare for existence. On the other hand, the attempt to transform a city into a place "where men live a common life for noble ends" is a long step toward world unity.

The task is not a light one, but it can be accomplished if there is developed a keen sense of individual responsibility. Privilege always means responsibility, and "*no-blesse oblige*" belongs to the present as truly as to the past. It places upon the womanhood of America the obligation of working, in every practical way, for the principles for which the peace movement stands; for the rights of the weak, whether they be little children in the factory and women in the sweat-shop, or a defenseless people across the seas; for the recognition of the oneness of the great human family, as real among the classes of New York as among the nations of the world; for the claim of the individual as a human being, whether he be an Armenian in Turkey or a Chinaman or Negro in America; for the promotion and arbitration of justice instead of force and injustice, in industrial as well as in international relations.

Secondly, the peace movement makes a strong appeal to women because of its ideal character. In our exaltation of what is practical, we sometimes overlook the truth that ideals are the condition of all progress, and that one of the greatest dangers of the present age is the attempt to build a state minus an ideal. It is the duty of education to withstand this drift in the national life and to maintain that the development of the material resources of a country comes second to the development of the highest nature of its citizens. In a certain sense every woman is an educator, although the sphere of her work may be more often the home or society than the schoolroom. It is unnecessary to emphasize to this audience the value of educating the life in the principles on which it should be established. In social work, in religious training, in intellectual culture, this truth is recognized. If we would substitute arbitration for brute force, peace for war, an ideal of world unity for national

and racial antagonisms, the reasonable hope of permanent accomplishment of these ends lies in the education of the children and the youth of to-day, the men and the women of to-morrow. "Imitation enters into the very fastnesses of character," and the ideals held before the child determine to a great extent what the man will be. It is because of the strength of the appeal to the imagination that the proposed naval and military display at the Jamestown Exposition is capable of accomplishing so great harm. If we really wish to develop the spirit of mercy, rather than that of cruelty, to exalt reason rather than violence, why not depict "the enticing splendors of peace" instead of "the enticing splendors of war?"

The peace movement places the emphasis upon the man who can think, rather than upon the one who can fight; it would make right stronger than might, subordinate selfish interests to the common good, allay passion, promote self-control, and give to individual nation and race the opportunity to "set the noblest free."

"Prognostics told
Man's near approach; so in man's self arise
August anticipations, symbols, types
Of a dim splendor ever on before
In that eternal circle life pursues.
For men begin to pass their nature's bound
And find new hopes and cares which fast supplant
Their proper joys and griefs; they grow too great
For narrow creeds of right and wrong, which fade
Before the unmeasured thirst for good; while peace
Rises within them ever more and more."

The Home and the Waste of War.

BY MRS. ELLEN M. HENROTIN.

*Address at the National Arbitration and Peace Congress,
April 16, 1907.*

When in the past a question of international or national adjustment arose it was vain to ask what influence pro or con woman exerted over the decision, for, in truth, her voice was unheard; her non-success as a promoter of peace among nations is the test answer to the oft-repeated argument against extending her civil and political influence "that it is woman's indirect influence which counts in political and civil matters." When a war issue is raised the family or economic interests of women or children are, and have always been, completely ignored; though this disregard of home interests is usually disguised to both men and women by an appeal to love of country, or, to express it in the war language, "For home and native land." If by chance women do not respond immediately to so impersonal an issue, when it affects such precious interests, they are cited as poor creatures not worthy of their great opportunities. Woman has in the past accepted this role of passivity, has cherished it, even made a fetich of it; she has concurred with man in the dictum "Might makes right." Thus, in those countries where the military form of government prevails, it goes without the saying that the part which woman, by her labor, contributes to the fund which makes for civilization is held in light esteem, though so essential in reality, and that even her "indirect influence" is not acknowledged.

Woman conceives of the ideal man as expressing towards his country physical energy and forceful high spirits; while man conceives of woman towards the same demand as expressing passive endurance. As these two ideals permeate society, the influence on the home is

so great that in political matters woman has become practically non-expressive. False conceptions of patriotism, which pervade all nations, have done their part towards rendering her voiceless, while the splendid trappings of war, the rewards meted out to its heroes, which their women share, have dazzled the eyes and excited the imagination so that it is not surprising that women, as a group, have accepted the role of abettor and aider, in so far as a non-combatant possibly could do.

During the Civil War the women on both sides, instead of restraining, urged on the men; in the Austrian-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars the same phenomenon was observed, as it was also in the South African and Russian-Japanese wars; perhaps slightly less in the Spanish-American war. When all the considerations are taken into account which should operate to influence women in favor of peace and arbitration, the attitude towards war which she has taken in the past is difficult to comprehend, for death or inevitable suffering comes to those she calls her own as its result, and even her own share is hard to bear, meaning, if she is the mother of a family, the uncertainty of her economic position, being deprived by absence or death of the one who should share the support and care of the children. The contending armies often sweep away her home, which involves the disintegration of its members; or, as in Cuba or South Africa, as an inmate of a reconcentrado camp she and her little ones are exposed to privation, disease and death. The sufferings of the women and children of Germany, France and the Netherlands, even since the Reformation, are almost beyond belief; thus her acquiescence is one of the most astounding results of the potency of the group opinion and its expression.

There are certain tendencies in present-day society that evince the fact that all nations are being aroused to a new conception of their responsibility towards war's waste, and among women it is natural, as it affects the home, that they chiefly are interested, though men and women alike are convinced that war is now too costly a game for nations to play. The self-supporting woman is more impressed by this thought, for she meets the realities of life and thus becomes a judge of relative values; being obliged to take her part in the competitive struggle for her daily bread, she learns the value of life and work; thus she understands economic waste. When the wage-earning woman marries and becomes a mother, she realizes the economic importance of the life of the husband and father,—as she knows actual conditions, she is increasingly unwilling to give up that life to the country; she desires to retain it for the benefit of the family. If the actual facts could be ascertained, it would be found that a much smaller percentage of married men enlisted, or offered to enlist, in the late Spanish-American war than did in the Civil War—largely due to the fact of the present changed point of view of women. As opportunities to secure a competency decrease from stress of population or otherwise, this tendency will increase. Perhaps one of the most convincing proofs of the subtle working of this influence was given in England when, after the South African war, the advisability of establishing the conscription was discussed. It was evident at once that the English people would not tolerate such a measure.